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THE INTERCONTINENTAL GUIDED V.P.
Three years ago (above) the President first launched Nixon against neutral Asia. Last week Asia, still neutral, was being nixed again. The Vice-President and his wife have a range reckoned in thousands of smiles.

NIXON OFF TO SAVE ASIA

His task: attack neutrals, try to block China from UN

By Kumar Goshal

URGENT REASONS lay behind Vice President Richard Nixon's ten-day, whirlwind visit to Washington's Asian allies this month.

At home, GOP leaders seemed to be having second thoughts about Nixon's candidacy. After President Eisenhower's recovery from his heart attack, these leaders were so confident of his victory that they felt it was immaterial who ran on the same ticket with him. But the President's second illness has made them pay more attention to the qualifications of Richard M. Nixon. The present tour, undertaken with Eisenhower's blessing, was meant to enhance Nixon's stature.

Washington has also been worried about events in Asia, where its allies are in trouble, the Bandung spirit of peaceful coexistence is being accepted by more nations, China's prestige is increasing sharply and hitherto reliable camp followers of U. S. foreign policy are veering towards UN recognition of China.

PHILIPPINE BASES: Nixon's itinerary included brief stopovers in the capital cities of the Philippines, S. Vietnam, Formosa, Thailand, Pakistan and Turkey.

U. S.-Philippines relations had been strained to the utmost over the issue of American military, air and naval bases. Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell had claimed perpetual U. S. ownership of the land occupied by these bases, a claim rejected by the Filipinos. Just before Nixon's arrival, the Philippines Congress was about to adopt a resolution demanding drastic U.S. concessions on the bases. The Congress, however, was persuaded to hold action, out of courtesy to Nixon, until his departure.

Upon his arrival Nixon dramatically announced Washington's promise to relinquish sovereignty over the land occupied by the bases, and to eventually turn over all titles to the Manila government. Negotiations based upon Nixon's announcement, however, promise to be stormy. Filipinos are highly resentful of the intrusion on their sovereignty implied by the existence of the bases; the Philippines House Foreign Affairs Comm. chairman has already called for reducing the leases from 99 to 10 years and recommended allowing only three bases to the U. S. with Filipino jurisdiction established over them.

ECONOMIC CHALLENGE: In S. Vietnam, ruled by Washington's protege President Ngo Dinh Diem, Nixon saw a country whose "troubled economy is its Achilles heel" (N. Y. Times, 7/4). N. Vietnam's announcement of reducing its armed forces by 80,000 has had a profound effect on the S. Vietnamese, and rapid economic progress in the North, Diem has admitted, has "posed a challenge both to S. Vietnam and the U. S." (NYT, 6/28).

In Pakistan, which is already trading with the socialist countries, Nixon was with a people wondering about the contrast between the Indo-Soviet and the Pakistan-U. S. oil deal. In India, Soviet experts, at Indian expense, have been prospecting for oil which, when found and drilled, will wholly belong to the New Delhi government.

Lancaster in Daily Express, London
"—and so the Sultan defeated all his enemies and lived happily ever after — thanks to good old Standard Oil."

In Pakistan, the American Standard-Vacuum Oil Co., holding an exploring license on 72,000 square miles, has begun drilling its first exploratory well; the Karachi government, sharing 25% of the cost, will get 25% of the oil found (NYT, 5/22.)

At Karachi, Nixon made a personal attack on India's Premier Nehru for accepting Soviet aid. He said such aid, "offered not with strings—but with a rope," would find India with "the rope tied

(Continued on Page 4)

WORKERS CHARGE LOCKOUT

Big steel digs in to boost prices and hog-tie union

IN THE LAST WEEK of June the steel companies seemed enthusiastically reconciled to a strike, almost determined that no last-minute concessions by the United Steel Workers of America would upset their preparations. A strike couldn't come at a better time.

Business had been singularly good. Steel profits for the first quarter of 1956 were $312,000,000, up $100,000,000 over the same period of 1955. Ever since the first of the year the tip-off that a summer strike was due sent orders in at a fast clip, keeping the mills going at full capacity. There was more steel stockpiled in warehouses and factories than at any time in history: an estimated 21,500,000 tons, compared with 16,000,000 tons last year.

THE PROSPECTS: The industry plainly had to slow down and if no strike had developed it was expected to slack off to at most 80% of capacity. The outlook for price rises was dim. Steel had shot up far beyond the general rise of prices since the war. The cost of living as a whole had risen 15.4% but steel had gone up 59.1%. It would be hard, with inventories high, to force prices up. A strike, if it ran two months or more, would whittle the stockpile down, create a new demand for steel and the guilt for a price rise could be fastened on labor

The steel companies had other reasons to get tough in the plush bargaining council rooms of New York's Roosevelt Hotel. Westinghouse had shown that a five-year no-strike agreement could be forced upon a union with profitable results. Reports from Westinghouse plants indicated that automation was proceeding smoothly, with the payroll cut and the union—the Intl. Union of Electrical Workers—effectively hog-tied. That strike was a pace-maker in other ways. It had been a test of the newly merged AFL-CIO and the support of organized labor proved less effective than employers had feared.

UNACCEPTABLE: When Benjamin F. Fairless headed U.S. Steel there had been a concerted effort to sell the boss-union partnership idea. The companies, well entrenched, now seem determined, wrote the N.Y. Times' A. H. Raskin, "to demonstrate to the union rank-and-file that strikes do not pay."

The companies therefore offered a totally unacceptable package: a five-year no-strike agreement; fixed annual wage raise of 7.3c an hour; lay-off pay which ostensibly came to 65% of working pay for 52 weeks but which, the union charged, was so hedged that it would yield little more than unemployment insurance benefits. The wage raise actually would come to less than the 7.3c offered since 2½c would be taken off as the worker's contribution to the insurance fund. On overtime the companies offered a 10c-an-hour premium for Sunday work beginning July 1, 1959.

The companies made only two concessions in the month of negotiation. They offered a four-year-four-month contract with a decrease in benefits and agreed to tie wage increases to the cost-of-living.

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HALLINAN ANSWERS BACK

Fights disbarment action

VINCENT HALLINAN, West Coast attorney and presidential candidate of the Progressive Party in 1952, last week filed a brief in answer to a disbarment action brought against him by the California State Bar.

Hallinan, a frequent speaker under GUARDIAN auspices, has served two prison terms in recent years. One was on a conviction of contempt of court arising from his successful defense of West Coast labor leader Harry Bridges in the government's fifth attempt in 20 years to deport him.

Hallinan was nominated for the Presidency while he was still serving that term of five months, but was released in time to campaign actively. Following the campaign, the government moved against him again on tax evasion charges and he was sentenced to 18 months. He most recently represented Marion Bachrach in the current New York Smith Act trial, for whom he won a directed acquittal.

In his brief in his own behalf, he argued that he has already been "grievously punished" and that disbarment for three years as recommended at the age of 59 "would be an almost insuperable obstacle to successful resumption of the practice of law."

The Hallinans were hosts to a GUARDIAN picnic at their home in Marin County, Calif., on Sunday, July 8.

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THE MAIL BAG

Room in limbo

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

If the Russians really go to work on this political revolution of theirs they can embarrass us no end here in the United States. For our "collective leadership" (top Republican-Democrat officialdom plus the Pentagon) will have to go, notwithstanding its repudiation of McCarthy. The way will have to be cleared by legal changes for the appearance in American politics of a genuine party of opposition bordered by splinter groups to the left.

The abolition of the now-excoriated Russian conviction of the accused by his own confession will have to be matched in the United States by abolition of conviction of the accused by confession of his alleged accomplices. And this means the Smith Act victims—all of them—will go free. If we Americans, prodded by what is now happening in Russia, complete our own American political revolution, the Bill of Rights will again have full meaning and we will tear from the statute books the hateful Smith Act, McCarran Act, Walter-McCarran Act, etc., and dump the Un-American Activities Committees, state and national, into the limbo of totalitarian atrocities.

Reuben W. Borough

Nominations

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

The speech delivered by Senator Lehman when he received the Citizenship Award of the Einstein College of Medicine, "Continuing Battle for Freedom —1956," is a masterpiece. It is in the Appendix of the Congressional Record. I am certain that Mr. Lehman would be happy to mail a copy on request.

I hope GUARDIAN readers have taken the trouble to write to Ernest T. Weir on reading in the June 11 issue his address, "The Road to Peace." Why is such a man not in the Cabinet and John Foster Dulles out of it?

Muriel L. Symington

Wants to know

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am not trying to prove that anti-Semitism exists as a policy in the USSR. I am convinced that it does not. Even the worst anti-Sovieteers have dared to make this charge by implication only, preferring to confuse it with the charges of anti-Soviet Zionism made against certain Jewish political and cultural leaders.

It is on the question of these alleged anti-Zionist persecutions that Americans want information. We want it from the Soviet Government officially, and from leading Soviet Jewish cultural people. We don't want generalities. We are adult and don't need sugar-coated pills to hear the truth. We are able to realistically evaluate the role of the Communist and progressive parties in our time, despite any mistakes made along the way to Socialism. We are not afraid of criticism or even ridicule from people who represent those forces that have kept anti-Semitism alive as a historical disgrace for thousands of years. But we demand to know the truth. We have certainly not obtained it from either the misleading GUARDIAN headline; or Miss Petran's interview with E. Furtseva.

H.R.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Some races just don't seem to get along with each other. What could be simpler than segregating these races on other planets?

AP report 3/15/56 of interview with Dr. Fritz Zwicky, Cal. Tech rocket expert.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: E. L. Wells, Skilburn, Ind.

Eat and live

SANTA FE, N.M.

Your June 18 issue has an article entitled: "That Good Old Fatty Diet." I would like to disagree with it and Dr. Keyes.

The isolated tribe of Eskimos who live on blubber and meat not only are free of heart trouble but of other sicknesses. America's number of deaths from disease and the increase of the RH Blood Factor will continue to persist and increase unless we discontinue the following food habits: Coffee and doughnuts for breakfast; milk, wine, coffee, water or any other liquid with meals; bread and meat sandwiches; spaghetti and meat balls; store bread at any time; soft drinks of any kind or ice cream; meat and potatoes with gravy; all white sugar and white flour products, especially when eating proteins.

For those people who wish to survive and be free of sickness, I suggest:

Eat heart, liver, brains, tripe, sweetbreads, kidneys often; eat rare meat, raw oysters or clams, raw eggs; drink all liquids 15 minutes before meals or long after meals (preferably two to three hours after).

Fast occasionally.

Give up potatoes, legumes, grains, breads or if you must eat them, eat them separately without fats or proteins.

Consider only fowl, fish, meat, eggs and good cheese as fit for human consumption. Realize that health is normal, that the laws of the creative origin of life are here to stay, protective and abiding to all who take heed, destructive of all who ignore them.

In closing, I would like to say that I have cured myself of hay fever of ten years standing and psoriasis of 54 years standing, with my diet. I am deeply impressed with it. It would be interesting to hear from other people about their experiences.

Preston McCrossen

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EDGEMERE, N.Y.

Dr. Keyes' findings will not be featured in the pages of the "slick paper" magazines because his recommendations, if followed, would result in lower profits for the monopolies.

David Lippert

Common sense

BELLINGHAM, WASH.

An Atlantic City surgeon, Dr. David Allman, is quoted in the local paper as saying that Ike will be "in better physical condition than any of his opponents, Republican or Democrat, when he recovers from his emergency intestinal operation."

Is this remark silly enough to rate in your How Crazy Dept.?

Yours for common sense.

Peder R. Sande

Walk, do not run . . .

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Anent Ike's recent difficulty, the first headlines read:

"Ike Suffers Stomach Upset."

"Exchange Suffers Stock Upset."

This is known as psychosomatic speculation. When Ike first suffered his heart attack the stock exchange reacted similarly. Hence the name: ticker tape.

The Republican hierarchy is going ahead with plans-as-usual for the convention at San Francisco: seating arrangements, press boxes, TV equipment, oxygen tents, plasma, slogans, etc. As my neighbor notes, the GOP feels that if Ike can walk he can run.

Colton P. Pick

Drawing by Dyad, London

"Have they had permission to sell **arms to a foreign power?"**

Big $1 Worth

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The entire forthcoming issue of the **Lawyers Guild Review**, the quarterly publication of the National Lawyers Guild, to be published June 30, 1956, will be devoted to the subject: Integration, Suffrage and Civil Rights.

One article, "The Unconstitutionality of Interposition," is by Professor Mitchell Franklin of the Law School of Tulane University, a leading and internationally known scholar in the field; another, "Legislation to Protect Civil Rights," is by Laurent Frantz, a lawyer and writer known to your readers who is a specialist in the subject discussed by him.

The issue will, in addition, contain a survey of every desegregation case that has arisen in the areas of public schools, colleges and universities, public accommodations, and reprisals against those favoring integration. It will also contain a survey of legislative proposals against integration in the South.

In view of the timely nature of this issue and the exceptional competence of those writing for it, I am certain that many of your readers will want to have a copy as soon as it is published. It will be a quick source of reference on the progress toward integration since the Supreme Court decision on May 17, 1954.

Those interested in obtaining copies should send $1 per copy to Lawyers Guild Review, 40 Exchange Place, New York 5, N.Y.

Royal W. France

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REPORT TO READERS

I Vote My Conscience

THE LONG-AWAITED volume of the debates, speeches and writings of Vito Marcantonio, **I Vote My Conscience**, was published July 4 and the undersigned spent a few days thereafter reading through its 494 fighting pages, covering his seven terms in Congress and the four great civil liberties cases he undertook between 1950 and his death in August, 1954.

What a man! What a record of able, fearless, tireless, unceasing, incorruptible and precisely correct representation of the people's interests. What a loss when independent political action, of which he was his era's mightiest champion, proved unequal to the task of returning him to office and of holding ranks after his defeat.

Marcantonio went to Congress in January, 1935, from the East Harlem district in New York which had been represented for many years previous by Fiorello LaGuardia. Like LaGuardia, whose campaigns he had managed, he was a Republican-Fusion candidate. Unlike LaGuardia, he was never a Socialist; his whole career, as a son of immigrant parents, was devoted to fighting for the fulfillment of American democracy.

From the outset in 1935, Marcantonio's tenets were made incandescently clear: he was anti-war, uncompromisingly pro-labor and pro-farmer, for complete political liberty, for racial equality, for equal and undiminished status for foreign-born, for unemployment and social insurance, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist. In his first term he introduced a bill for independence for Puerto Rico. The same year (1936) he exposed the conditions surrounding the mass silicosis deaths in Union Carbide operations at Gauley Bridge, W.Va., and brought about revision and stricter enforcement of federal safety regulations. He battled a bill for battleships while relief appropriations were being cut; and supported a bill to take profit out of war.

WHEN WORLD WAR II broke out, he vigorously opposed steps away from U.S. neutrality and toward ultimate participation. "I am ready to vote not $10,000,000,000 but $100,000,000,000 for the defense of our shores and our homes," he said in July, 1940. "I, however, refuse to vote one cent for an armament program which has become a vehicle for involvement and intervention in the war, for the destruction of anti-war ideologies which have been built up over the last 23 years, for the abolition of our freedom and for the repeal of the progress that America has made during the last seven years."

In June, 1941, the Nazi forces turned on the Soviet Union and by October Marcantonio saw a war which was "predominantly imperialist" transformed into one of national defense. If the U.S.S.R. succumbed, the Nazi forces could be "within rowboat distance of our northwestern territory" in Alaska.

Rep. Scott interrupted to ask "if it is not a fact that the gentleman's interest in the defense of America . . . dates from the day of the invasion of Soviet Russia by Germany?" Marcantonio replied:

"My interest in the defense of America has existed since December 10, 1902, the day I was born."

The brilliant give-and-take which characterized many of his Congressional arguments has many examples; the far extent of his concern for the people's interest is well documented. And what cannot fail to impress even the most critical reader is the depth and quality of his argument, whether it be in behalf of quarry strikers in Vermont or in defense of the Hollywood Ten against contempt citations. Marcantonio did his own research for the most part, and most certainly never had a speech writer in his whole career. He brought to bear on every question the incisiveness of a fine lawyer, the humanity of an American radical and the keen edge of one trained not only in torts, but in retorts. His encounters with the Dixiecrats Rankin, Cox, Blanton and Dies are alone worth the $5 price.

MARCANTONIO is frequently compared to Thaddeus Stevens in his fight for Negro rights, to the elder Lindbergh in his opposition to militarism, to LaGuardia in his parliamentary adroitness and fealty to labor, working people, racial groups and the foreign-born. All these comparisons are justified, yet another is in order.

Is there in the Congress today, or a candidate for Congress this year, anyone who can hold a candle to him? Can any but an uncompromising independent political movement produce such a one?

—John T. McManus

I VOTE MY CONSCIENCE, the debates, speeches and writings of Vito Marcantonio; edited by Annette T. Rubinstein. Vito Marcantonio Memorial, 247 E. 116th St., N. Y. 29, N. Y. 494 pp. $5.

MILLER GETS HIS PASSPORT

But others still battle for their right to travel

PLAYWRIGHT ARTHUR MILLER, brand-new husband of Marilyn Monroe, last week was granted a six-month passport, but other less glamorous figures were still battling in the courts for their constitutional and natural right to travel.

New York attorney Leonard B. Boudin, who was denied a passport in 1954 on vague and anonymous charges of communist sympathies or associations, on June 28 won a U. S. Court of Appeals decision directing the State Dept. to reconsider its refusal to permit him to go abroad for business purposes. The ruling was based upon a legal technicality which held that Secy. John Foster Dulles had failed to abide literally by his own Department's passport regulations. The court declined at this time to consider the basic issue in the passport war: whether the government may deny the right of travel to its citizens on secret and undisclosed information.

THE FACELESS ONES: Last November Federal District Judge Luther W. Youngdahl ruled in the Boudin case that the State Dept. in passport cases cannot rely on confidential information; he denounced the use of the "secret informer and the faceless tale-bearer" and ordered an open hearing for Boudin at which the Department would make public its "evidence" against him.

The Appeals Court in its present ruling said that while it did not reach this point, it might do so later. It declared that if the State Dept. again denies Boudin a passport, it should say if its action is based "on the evidence openly produced" and if not, it should explain "with particularity" why the evidence can't be disclosed. The unanimous opinion said:

"If considerations of internal security rather than of the conduct of foreign affairs are involved, we think the Secretary should so state."

The next move was up to Mr. Dulles.

DR. NATHAN CITED: In another passport case Dr. Otto Nathan, educator and executor of the estate of Albert Einstein, was cited for contempt of Congress by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on June 27. Attorney Boudin had won a passport for Dr. Nathan last year so that he could perform his duties in connection with the Einstein estate, but he was summoned before the Committee last month and ordered to surrender it. He not only refused, but also declined to answer any questions concerning his political beliefs or associations. He said at the hearing:

"Although my political beliefs and associations have been widely known for many years, and although I have always believed in stating them publicly at any time and place of my own choosing, I am not able, as a matter of conscience and principle, to answer any questions by this committee as to my political beliefs or my political and private associations."

TO THE BITTER END: He did not invoke the Fifth Amendment, but took his stand on the First, which protects freedom of speech and belief. In a press statement issued on June 27, the day he was cited for contempt, he said:

"Should I be indicted for contempt because of failure to answer questions which would have violated my constitutional freedoms and because of refusal to obey an illegal request, I shall consider it an honor and a duty to vindicate my position in our courts and to fight the matter through to the bitter end."

He issued a challenge to Un-American Activities Committee chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), whom he accused of making "utterly defamatory and false statements about me without making any attempt to ascertain the true facts and without giving me an opportunity to take issue with him . . . I hereby make the public request that Congressman Walter repeat those derogatory remarks about me outside the halls of Congress to make it possible for me to challenge him in court."

MILLER WON'T TELL: Arthur Miller, although he got his passport by providing the State Dept. with all the necessary affidavits showing him untainted by communism, also seemed in danger of a contempt citation by the Un-American Committee. In an appearance before the committee on June 21 he had confessed to questionable associations in the late 30's and early 40's but had declined to name names as a matter of conscience.

The committee on June 27 voted to give him ten days in which to "purge" himself by listing the names of his earlier associates; the deadline was up on July 7. On that day he sent a letter to the committee reaffirming his decision not to be an informer. Said Chairman Walter: "If that's his answer to the opportunity offered by the committee to avoid contempt then it seems to me he is inviting it."

End of the Poznan rising

Funeral service for one of the 48 officially listed as dead following the June 28 riots in the Polish city at the end of the international trade fair. Although stories from unnamed businessmen, datelined West Berlin, told of terror and executions in the city, none of these were confirmed. Official statements were calm, denied anyone had yet been tried or punished; said only those found with arms would be arrested; all trials would be open. One of the workers' grievances was met by passing out the first instalment of rebates from excessive taxes. A parliamentary committee investigating on the spot pledged that "innocent people or people involved accidentally" would not suffer. The Intl. Commission of Jurists asked permission to send four eminent lawyers to attend trials growing out of the riots.

BROWNELL OPPOSES SUPREME COURT

Moves to restore 'security risk' program

FORMER REP. Byron N. Scott, attorney for John Carr Rogers, artist and Treasury Dept. illustrator suspended in 1954 on security grounds, has demanded his reinstatement in line with the recent Supreme Court decision reinstating Kendrick M. Cole to his non-sensitive job in the Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare.

Rogers was the object of an "illegal suspension", Scott wrote, as a result of which "he was starved into resignation."

Rogers is 49, an Air Force staff sergeant in World War II, and a painter whose work has been exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Corcoran School of Art (where he studied and taught), Howard University and elsewhere.

CIVILIAN EMPLOYEE SECURITY PROGRAM
ACCUSATIONS
ARMED FORCES SAY THEY ARE NOW USING COMMON SENSE IN SECURITY CASES
HERBLOCK

Herblock in Washington Post

"You using a pinch of salt in your recipe, dearie?"

His suspension came as a result of an "unknown informant". Anonymous letters taunting him on his suspension were turned over the Treasury Dept. but never acknowledged. Rogers resigned to obtain his retirement funds and save his Washington home from foreclosure. Later he was cleared and placed on the eligible register "for the position of illustrator." However, at each try at a vacancy anywhere, including his old agency, he ran into an "invisible but impenetrable security curtain."

SEEK TO NULLIFY: Last June 15, Atty. Gen. Brownell announced that in response to the Supreme Court ruling all removal actions from non-sensitive jobs would be halted and that 17 persons now under suspension would be "restored to duty immediately." None of the 17 were named, and there was no word on the effect of the Supreme Court decision on those previously dismissed.

But Congressional fire-brands, already overheated by earlier Court decisions, promptly produced legislation that would nullify this one. Sens. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), Karl E. Mundt (R-S.D.) and Joe McCarthy (R-Wisc.) all introduced bills to apply the Eisenhower-Brownell "security" program to every government job. Following two days of hearings—at which Eastland denounced the Supreme Court for making "one pro-Communist decision after another" and McCarthy bitterly attacked Chief Justice Earl Warren—the Eastland Internal Security Subcommittee approved all three measures on June 29. They go now to the full Senate Judiciary Committee, also presided over by Eastland.

BROWNELL OPPOSES COURT: The Justice Dept. struggled over what one of its spokesmen called the "toughest decision in three years": what to do about the security program. On July 6 Atty. Gen. Brownell joined the Congressmen who were out to over-rule the Court. In a letter to Rep. Tom Murray (D-Tenn.), chairman of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Brownell wrote: "I favor the enactment of the bill which would grant authority for extension of the employe security program to all employes."

The bill Brownell backed and which was introduced by Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) is similar to the McCarthy-Mundt-Eastland drafts in the Senate.

Philip Young, chairman of the Civil Service Commission, also backed the Walter bill. In arguing for his measure, Rep. Walter had denounced the "six wise men" (of the Supreme Court majority) for laying open the "soft underbelly" of government so that Communist agents could "easily reach the nerve centers of the nation."

The **N.Y. Times** reported a Washington rumor that Brownell had originally decided against supporting the Walter bill but was overruled "in discussion with Mr. Young and perhaps members of the White House staff."

DRASTIC OVERHAUL: Meanwhile a nine-member committee of the N.Y. City Bar Assn. made its recommendations after a year-and-a-half study of the loyalty program. It would reduce by 75% the number of people affected by the program, cutting the figure from 6 million to 1½ million. They recommended altering "sensitivity" criteria so as to reduce the number of federal employes covered by the program from 2,300,000 to 600,000 at most. The 3 million employes of private industry now covered would be reduced to 800,000 handling top-secret material. The program in the Atomic Energy Commission's projects would be curtailed "somewhat."

The Bar Assn. committee favored complete abolition of the Port Security Program which screens about 400,000 seamen and another 400,000 longshoremen.

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TWO NEW BOOKS ON THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Spirit of Bandung a growing force in the world

By Eugene Gordon

WASHINGTON'S SKILL at making friends of reporters going to the 1955 Asian-African Conference matched its ability to influence certain delegations. The Chicago **Tribune**'s Quentin Pope wasn't kidding me when he said the State Dept. felt it had made a mistake in giving me a passport. How did he know the State Dept.'s thoughts? He said: "It's my business to know." Did they assume I wouldn't accurately report what I saw and heard because Washington hadn't briefed me? Amazed that Washington hadn't, Pope implied that any reporter who hadn't been told what to see and hear would surely see and hear wrongly.

What I saw and heard differs so much from most of my U. S. colleagues' experiences that I've worriedly suspected I was sidetracked to a mock session run by frolicsome schoolboys. A year has now passed and I have read two books on Bandung by men whom I saw there.

Both Cornell Prof. George McTurnan Kahin's **The Asian-African Conference***, written "against the background of two years of previous research in S.E. Asia [and] two months in Jakarta, Rangoon, New Delhi, Karachi and Cairo" after the conference, and expatriate Richard Wright's **The Color Curtain****, a report on "the first meeting in history of the representatives of 56% of the human race," illustrate the point. Kahin's being subject to the whims of our passport division, his book does it better.

KAHIN'S THESIS: He steps solidly when he says the calling of the conference by Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan "was symptomatic of their protest" against being excluded from decisions affecting Asia. He treads quicksand when he says they saw the conference "as providing a means" for China's becoming more independent of the USSR and as "an educative device" by which to enlighten China with respect to her "international environment" and to show "leaders of the non-communist Asian and African states" what Peking was really up to.

Kahin's wrong thesis—that People's China and the USSR rather than the Western powers were regarded as main-danger sources—leads to the conclusions that the conference's task was to decide "the kind of colonialism . . . to condemn" rather than that, as the planners had stated, it was "Western," or, as Kahin calls it, "classical," colonialism; that China's Chou En-lai made concessions so as not "to undo the success he had already won," and not because he wanted the conference to succeed; that "colonialism in all its forms" meant "condemnation of Soviet satellite colonialism," rather than,

MOSES KOTANE
He voiced S. Africa's strivings

as most delegations and newsmen apparently understood, "colonialism in its modern dress, in the form of economic control, intellectual control, actual physical control, by a small but alien community within a nation," as Indonesia's President Sukarno defines it and as Dutchmen in his country and Americans in, for instance, the Philippines, illustrate it.

"VOICE OF AMERICA": Kahin is right when he says "the attainment by the representatives of the 29 participant countries of a much fuller and more realistic understanding of one another's point of view" was a most important achievement. But to move from this demonstrable fact to the theory that the conference's purpose was to educate China—and vice versa—is to go from truth to error: its purpose was as its sponsors said; its effect was to educate all participants.

Kahin's summing up ignores the South Africans' strivings and Moses Kotane's able plea; ignores the fact that Kahin's "pro-Western" Asians were generally regarded as U.S. stooges (Romulo of the Philippines being nicknamed "Voice of America"). Kahin's book, though having some useful factual material and some sound personal conclusions, is essentially a restatement of the U.S. State Dept.'s attitude toward the A-A Conference and the Eisenhower Administration's present China policy. The texts of Sukarno's, Nehru's and Chou En Lai's speeches, and the conference's final communique, enhance the usefulness of the book.

"THE UNDERDOGS": When Richard Wright read the conference call, he meditated: "The despised, the insulted, the hurt, the dispossessed—in short, the underdogs of the human race—are meeting. Here are class and racial and religious consciousness on a global scale . . . What have these nations in common? Nothing, it seems, but what their past relationship to the Western world has made them feel. This meeting of the rejected is in itself a kind of judgment upon the Western world."

He found "something extra-political, extra-social, almost extra-human" about the call. It "smacked of tidal waves, of natural forces . . . **And the call for the meeting had not been sounded in terms of ideology.**" Wright thought "the conditions under which these men had lived had become their tradition, their culture, their **raison d'etre.**" He could not class them as "proletarians"; thought of them as "princes and paupers, communists and Christians, Leftists and Rightists, Buddhists and Democrats—in short, just anybody and everybody who lived in Asia and Africa." That is not accurate: Israel Formosa, North and South Korea, and South Africa were not present.

Wright concludes that the "one tangible factor" holding Asia and Africa together was "color." Let's agree that color was a **visible** factor; but his infusing the Asian's struggle for economic, social and political autonomy with mysticism is comparable to Kahin's error on the origin and the meaning of the conference. Wright doesn't have to say that "to the Asian mind industrialization was . . . a dogma in religion" in order to explain why people of economically, socially and politically backward areas desire **their** machines to extract oil from their earth, **their** factories to process the raw materials of their countries, **their** ships and planes to transport the finished products.

QUESTION-ANSWER: Wright does "not give much weight" to talk of rivalry between Chou En-lai and India's Nehru: ". . . At Bandung Nehru was in the background, quiet, studied." Wright departs from mysticism in his comment—about an interview—on Nehru: "His problem was: How can I find time to build up India? He knew that no Asian or African nation, though independent, was really free, as long as it was backward and economically dependent. Then there was the fear that another war would result in the subordination of Asians and Africans again to Western rule . . ." This answer to the question of motive is better than Wright's "religion" or Kahin's "Communist China" bugaboo. Wright concludes:

"Today the Russians can feel bitterly, defiantly, satisfied that they did what was brutally necessary, no matter how hard, inhuman and terrible, to keep their power and industrialize their country. But must this tragic method, with secular religiosity of horror and blood, be repeated on the body of the human race? Is there no stand-in for these sacrifices, no substitutes for these sufferings?"

What Wright says about "the Russians" may have been proved—in the light of Khrushchev's 20th Congress report—to be true. As for his last question, the answer was already emerging, even at the time of the Bandung Conference, in India, China, Indonesia and Indo-China.

* *THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE, Bandung, Indonesia, 1955, by George McTurnan Kahin. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y. 87 pp. $2.*

** *THE COLOR CURTAIN: A Report on the Bandung Conference, By Richard Wright. Foreword by Gunnar Myrdal. World Publishing Co., Cleveland and New York. 221 pp. $3.75.*

Nixon's task

(Continued from Page 1)

around its neck." Last week Nehru had answered an earlier Nixon-Dulles attack by remarking that democracy meant tolerance for differing viewpoints; he did not believe "the world can be divided up into good and evil . . . Alignment to one side or another means regimentation. I object to Communist [as well as] non-Communist regimentation."

CHOU'S OFFER: Nixon evidently went into Formosa to check up on the possible effects of Chinese Premier Chou En-lai's June 28 offer "to negotiate with the [Formosan] authorities on specific steps and conditions for the peaceful liberation of [Formosa]."

The Nashville Tennessean
We have to face the possibility.

In his offer, Premier Chou reminded members of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang party that they and the Chinese Communists "have twice fought shoulder to shoulder against imperialism," and, in the interests of the motherland, "we can still link up our arms and unite together."

Although Chiang and his representatives bluntly rejected the offer, some observers thought Chou "might be preparing the ground for a face-saving formula for Communist-Nationalist negotiations" (**Christian Science Monitor,** 6/29). Others, according to **CSM,** believed that Chou does not expect any immediate response from his offer; but, since the next UN General Assembly might recognize China, Chou's offer was "a delayed action bomb," set to explode when Chiang has lost all claim to the mainland and was confined exclusively to the little island.

GREAT PROGRESS: With its increasing strength and prestige, UN recognition of China at the November Assembly session looms as a distinct possibility. Syria has followed Egypt in establishing diplomatic relations with China. **CSM** correspondent Gordon Walker reported from Hong Kong (6/22) that "almost all Western diplomatic observers here [believe] that it would be folly to deny that progress—possibly tremendous progress—is being made now [in China] in the economic, industrial and agricultural fields."

It was evidently in recognition of the stability this progress implied that all nine Commonwealth Prime Ministers, meeting in London last week, "were reported in favor of pressing for seating Red China in the UN after the U. S. Presidential election Nov. 6" (**AP,** 7/3).

De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

TURKISH TROUBLES: In Turkey Nixon conferred with Premier Adnan Menderes, whose government has become so unpopular that the opposition deputies have boycotted parliamentary sessions for the last two weeks.

Since 1954, the Menderes administration has passed stringent laws muzzling the press, often padlocking newspapers when they criticized government policy. Last November, mass resignations of ministers over government corruption and repressive laws forced Menderes to form a new government.

Last month, after the 65 deputies of the three opposition parties had walked out in disgust, Menderes rammed through parliament a bill curtailing meetings of political parties to only 45 days prior to general elections. The bill also prohibits speech-making at street meetings, violators to be punished by fines up to $1,000 and prison terms up to two years. The bill empowers the police, after warning street meetings, to fire "without aim" into the crowd (**NYT,** 6/28).

Aside from the bases offer to the Philippines, what other wise diplomatic moves Nixon makes among Washington's troubled allies to build himself up remain to be seen.

School aid killed in political brawl

THE HOUSE of Representatives last week killed the $1.6 billion Federal school construction bill. Before wiping out all hope of school aid in this Congress, the House accidentally removed and then restored an amendment by Rep. Powell (D-N.Y.) to withhold funds from states refusing "to comply with decisions of the Supreme Court" outlawing jimcrow public schools and ordering a start toward integration. The 224-194 vote was divided: Democrats for school aid, 119; Republicans for, 75; Democrats against, 105; Republicans against, 119.

Speculation was that Dixiecrats would have killed the measure without Powell's amendment fearing an anti-jimcrow proviso might be imposed by an appropriations-bill rider or through administrative order.

Republicans—with eyes on the Negro electorate and the November elections—voted 148 compared to the Democrats' 77 for the Powell amendment. To kill the whole bill Republicans topped Democrats by 96 votes.

SUBVERSIVE DUST IN BAYSIDE

Atomic age previewed as blast rips laboratory apart

By Elmer Bendiner

IN WASHINGTON last month, Sen. James L. Duff (R-Pa.) in a closed session of the subcommittee on the Air Force asked Lt. Gen. James M. Gavin what would happen if we dropped a nuclear bomb at a point where the prevailing winds would carry the radiation southeastward over Russia. The general said:

"Current planning estimates run on the order of several hundred million deaths that would be either way depending upon which way the wind blew. If the wind blew to the southeast they would be mostly in the U.S.S.R., although they would extend into the Japanese and perhaps down into the Philippine area. If the wind blew the other way they would extend well back up into Western Europe."

Official Washington was shocked at the disclosure because it was felt that this would discourage allies who might find themselves downwind.

THUNDERCLAPS: The "several hundred million" were a planner's calculation of a war almost universally regarded as unthinkable. But in Bayside, Queens, N.Y.C., Mrs. Cirillo last week grimly faced up to the atomic age as it came home to her in peacetime on an ordinary summer work-day.

Her husband Joseph Cirillo works in the Sylvania Electric Products metallurgy laboratory, doing classified research under regulations of the Atomic Energy Commission. At 8:50 a.m. on July 2, Bayside residents heard what they described as "two tremendous claps of thunder."

A quantity of thorium, mildly radioactive metal, scrapped and being prepared for storage, had exploded on the second floor of the laboratory. It blew out windows and blasted a 10-by-20-foot crater in the concrete floor.

ALL AFFECTED: A woman worker in a part of the plant some distance from the scene of the explosion said: "We just all got ashen and ran for our lives."

Along with the usual rescue squads of firemen and police came three radiation experts of the AEC and the Fire Dept.'s "radiac" unit equipped with geiger counters. When the blaze was over, almost every fireman and policeman who entered the plant was found to be contaminated in some degree. All were placed under observation in hospitals.

Mrs. Cirillo, whose husband was among the injured, told newsmen: "I worried about radiation burns, but I feel something can always happen, any place. No one's safe anywhere. God watches. I won't let him stop working there because if something's going to happen, it's going to happen . . . We just live from day to day."

AEC 'REASSURES': But the peril was not alone in the plant where nine workers were injured from the blast and fire. The "radiac" unit set out geiger counters in the area and found radioactive dust particles. Lt. Andrew Keil said he was "concerned" but not "worried" about radioactivity in the neighborhood. The AEC assured people that the explosion was not "nuclear" and that the radioactivity was "negligible."

In its recent reports on the biological effects of radiation the Natl. Academy of Sciences foresaw three accident hazards. Handling and transport of radioactive materials, the scientists said, could lead to accidents which "while locally severe" should not affect a wide public area and, in all cases, the contaminated areas can be cleaned up.

A "catastrophic spread of radioactive materials" could result from the vaporization of the core of a reactor, but the scientists added that such a disaster was improbable. But they warned that a hazard greater than any single reactor lay in the storage of atomic wastes or in the plants that might be used to process such material.

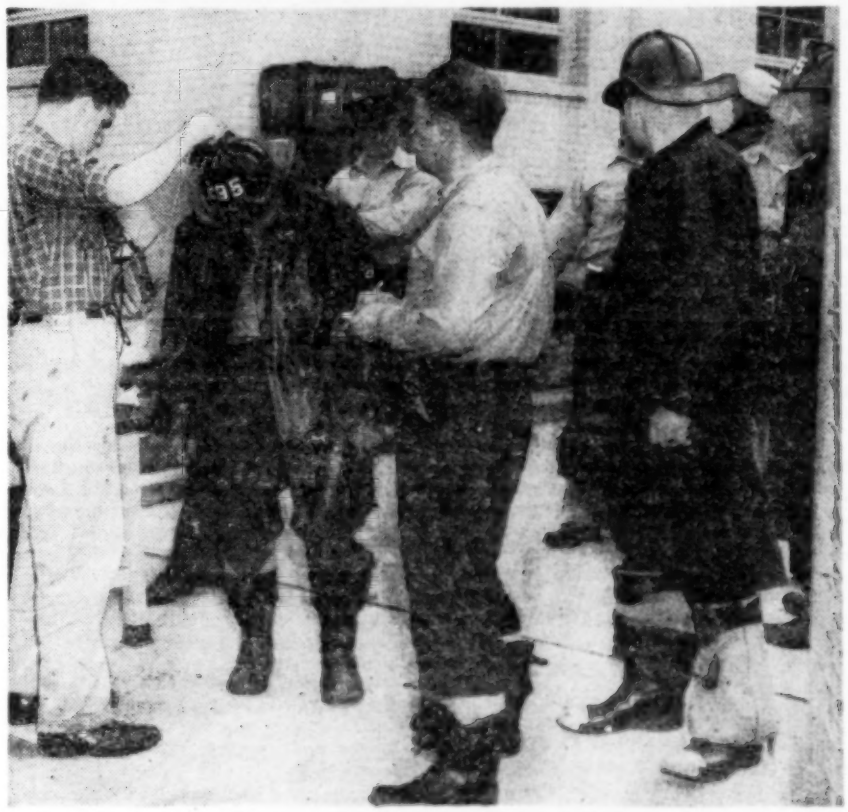
WORSE TO COME: The thorium waste in atomic installations like the Bayside plant offered slight danger at present, they said, but commented that the present picture did not provide "a completely adequate basis for projecting the magnitude of the hazard into the vastly expanded realm of industrial atomic power production."

By 1965, the Academy predicted, atomic reactors around the nation will be producing over 10 kilograms of fission products a day. The waste products are hard to dispose of. Ideally, scientists recommend, the waste should be dumped into the deepest parts of the Black Sea where it would take some 2,500 years to surface. If thrown into the depths of the Atlantic it would be reasonably safe since it would surface in about 100 years by which time it would be so dispersed as to be harmless.

Sooner or later, it seemed, the world would have to alter its social organization, its laws and customs to cope with the perils or reap the promises of atomic industry. The Academy's report tactfully approached the problem:

THE PROBLEM: "Long-term responsibilities, moral, legal and financial, stemming from the ownership of atomic wastes simply come into sharp focus when it is emphasized that the radioactive life of the wastes would probably exceed by several centuries the official life of the organization itself . . . It may be difficult to maintain an adequate balance between objectives which primarily must emphasize the legal requirements and those which in the broad biological sense must establish the foundations for truly preventive approach to this problem."

The radioactive dust that fell on Bayside was harmless biologically but perhaps the most deeply subversive material ever encountered by free enterprise.



THE NEW ERA COMES WITH A CLICK
Fireman at atom blast is checked with geiger counter.

Steel strike

(Continued from Page 1)

The union, which had never before signed a contract running longer than two years, offered to stretch it to three years. The union wanted a better wage raise, fringe benefits, time-and-a-half for Saturday work and double-time for Sunday.

QUIET ON THE POTOMAC: Throughout the bargaining sessions Washington was calm. No federal mediators flew up to keep the sides talking as the strike deadline neared on June 30. The furnaces in the steel mills were banked and the strike began quietly on schedule, with 650,000 men out. The union called it a lock-out.

By the end of the strike's first week some 100,000 railroad workers, coal miners, truck drivers were also laid off. The nation's steel production was down to 10% of normal (produced in small plants where the workers are not organized into the USWA.) Retail sales in steel towns began to slump weeks before the strike started. Railroads, oil, farm equipment factories all expected to feel the strike in the coming weeks. Most observers expected the strike to run at least two months.

Mediation efforts were leisurely in the strike's first week. Joseph F. Finnegan, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, led a three-man team to Pittsburgh, chatted with union and management, and later told newsmen: "We were seeking facts and we had pleasant and informative conferences . . . It was serious when I came here and it is serious as I leave."

HIGH STAKES: Many of the steel workers took their two-week vacations as the strike began. There were token picket lines. Men set up tents at plant gates and watched the ball game on TV. Steel town merchants offered credit and loan companies took large ads in the papers.

The workers could hold out for a month in most places without feeling the pinch too badly. But in Youngstown, Ohio, a business man told a reporter of the harrowing 5½-month strike in nearby Sharon and added: "That strike ruined that town. They will be years getting over it. We all are just praying that we don't see the same thing come here."

When the pinch comes it will mean the toughest test yet for the AFL-CIO. If Big Steel wins, it can hog-tie its workers for five years and install automation on the boss' terms. The stakes are high for all U.S. labor and industry.

". . . And what makes you think we would be satisfied with reasonable profits?"

Things are a little different in Brazil

THE DIRECTORS of a private nursery school recently were sentenced to one year in jail for expelling a three-year-old boy because he was a Negro. It happened in Rio de Janeiro where the decision was widely regarded as Brazil's answer to Alabama University's expulsion of Autherine Lucy.

The "Happy School Brazil-Canada" dismissed the boy, referred to in court proceedings only as Fernando, after four days on grounds of bad behavior. The two directors of Happy School, Johannes and Silvia Van Lammeren, were brought into court under an anti-discrimination law passed in 1951. Their conviction is the first under the law.

CONTEMPT FOR MANKIND: Brazil has the finest record on integration of any nation in this hemisphere, though it emancipated its slaves only 69 years ago. Few cases of outright discrimination are known in Brazil, but in recent years some accommodations, catering to foreign tourists, have been charged with jimcrow. The Happy School decision handed down by Judge Ireneo Joffily in Rio's 17th Criminal Court, won wide acclaim and none of Rio's newspapers dissented from the verdict or the sentence.

In his decision the judge warned of "carriers of the damaging virus of racial prejudice, manifest in the disgraceful events now occurring in the U.S. where 97 Senators and Representatives defy the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court against segregation of colored students in the schools."

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION GRANTS HEARING

Protests force action on denial of pension to war hero Thompson

IN 1943 Staff Sgt. Robert G. Thompson of the 127th Infantry Regiment, 32nd Division, came out of the bloody New Guinea fighting with the Distinguished Service Cross, a recommendation for an officer's commission, a citation describing his record as "without equal on the field of battle"—and a bad case of chronic tuberculosis.

He was sent home to a hospital and later discharged with disability compensation of $100 a month. When Thompson entered the army he was known as a leader of the Communist Party. Back in civilian life he resumed full-time work for the CP.

In Oct., 1949, only six years after the New Guinea campaign, Thompson and other CP leaders were tried and convicted under the Smith Act for "conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence."

CHARGE OF TREASON: On June 2, 1954, when Thompson was already in Atlanta penitentiary, the VA's Central Committee on Waivers and Forfeitures opened proceedings to take the monthly compensation check away from Thompson's wife and daughter. The Committee cited the law authorizing forfeiture of pensions in case of "mutiny, treason, sabotage or rendering assistance to the enemy. . . ."

Thompson had never been tried for any of those crimes but the VA so interpreted the Smith Act's language of "conspiring to teach and advocate." The ruling thus foreshadowed current attempts by Sen. Eastland and others to enlarge the definition of treason far beyond that spelled out in the Constitution.

On April 29, 1955, the VA's committee added that Thompson after his conviction had rendered aid to "the enemy" during the Korean War and with that explanation terminated the checks, reducing the allotment to $21 a month which Mrs. Thompson would have received if she were widowed.

THE NAMELESS ONES: The VA gave no details on the Korean War charges against Thompson until last May when protests and legal action forced a full statement. The bill of particulars quotes "confidential informants" and press clippings which prove that Thompson vigorously opposed the war and called for its end.

One item listed as giving "aid and comfort" to the enemy was an advertisement in the **Daily Worker** quoting Thompson as saying:

"Mass action now can still halt a police state." The plea for action had nothing to do with the Korean War but was in connection with the drive against the concentration camp provisions of the McCarran Act.

The VA refused all pleas for a public hearing on the case. But Thompson's wife Leona set about stirring world opinion. She has no committee; her headquarters and filing cabinet are in her voluminous handbag.

ROBERT THOMPSON
Short-changed hero

Letters of support and protest soon flooded Mrs. Thompson and the VA. The Ex-Service Movement for Peace in Britain and the union of shirt workers of Milan; Italian Sen. Ilio Bosi and Liu Ning-I of the All China Fedn. of Trade Unions, all expressed their shock. Singo Shibata, lecturer at Hosei University, Japan, wrote to Rep. Olin Teague (D-Tex.), chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs:

"I have the right to tell you that such proceedings instituted against non-conformist veterans like Mr. Thompson are not only outrageous in the light of the Bill of Rights, but also absurd from the point of view of Asian peoples. Even our government, one of the most undemocratic administrations in the world, does not resort to such illegal procedures. I urge you to stop so absurd an act against Mr. R. Thompson and immediately pay the pension to him who is the salt of the earth in your country."

THE KUTCHER CASE: An article by Maurice J. Goldbloom in the March issue of the conservative magazine on Jewish affairs, **Commentary**, criticized "a stretching of the law, of no conceivable benefit to the security of the United States, to deprive Americans of their contractual rights to pensions, under circumstances not contemplated by the law, for their political activities.

"It is perhaps worth noting that after the Civil War, men who had risen in armed rebellion against the U. S. were nevertheless permitted to retain pensions based on war service."

The Thompsons were heartened by the victory of the legless veteran James Kutcher of Newark, who, in a hard-fought legal battle, won back his job, his home and his GI benefits, after all had been threatened because of his political views. Kutcher is a Trotzkyite but he and Mrs. Thompson have been engaged in a friendly correspondence. Last March Kutcher, answering a note of Mrs. Thompson's, wrote:

"Needless to say, I don't think my political differences with . . . your husband have anything to do with taking a stand on such a matter of elementary justice and civil liberties. . . . I feel deep sympathy for you personally in what I know has been a long stretch of persecution—first the Smith Act imprisonment of your husband and now this dirty action taking away his pension. I hope the fight that I have been making in my case helps set the stage for restoration of your husband's pension and also helps in some measure to hasten the end of the current witch-hunt."

The first victory in the Thompson case came last week when the VA's Board of Appeals granted a public hearing on July 10. Thompson would not appear. His appeal was to be argued by attorney Robert Z Lewis. No immediate decision was expected and Mrs. Thompson was still asking those who believe Thompson's pension should be restored to write at once to R. L. Jarnegan, Chairman, Bd. of Appeals, Veterans Administration, Washington, D. C.

Purely political

WASHINGTON, March 30 (AP)—Boris Kowerda, who assassinated the Russian Ambassador to Poland in 1927, has been given the right to enter the United States through legislation signed by President Eisenhower.

Kowerda's wife and daughter are already living in Newark, N. J. Kowerda, 47, is in Germany.

Originally sentenced to life imprisonment, his term was shortened to 10 years. A House committee, in approving his entry, said it believed the crime he committed falls within the category of purely political offenses.

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NAACP CONVENTION

Both parties are challenged to take a stand on civil rights

"BECAUSE MUCH has happened" since the Presidential election of 1952, NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins told the closing session of the 47th annual convention last week in San Francisco that Negroes this year will demand "strong civil rights planks in the platforms of both parties." He listed some of what has happened since 1952: the Supreme Court's outlawing jimcrow schools and intrastate bus travel; Montgomery, "with all its implications"; nullification resolutions and congressional manifestos; "U.S. Senators traveling up and down the land urging the people not to obey the Supreme Court"; ". . . vilification, terror and violence visited upon sections of our population who have asked merely that the law of the land be observed."

Declaring the White House "cannot be neutral when the very foundation principles of our democratic government are being challenged in crude and arrogant fashion," Wilkins urged the delegates not to "discourage or belittle political action"; said the Negro must use his ballot to protect himself against "political attack." Wilkins added:

USE YOUR VOTE: "If politics can be used for increasing corporation profits, there is nothing wrong with using politics to secure human rights. Everyone else tries to use politics for his benefit; you use it for yours. Don't apologize about it. Use your vote on behalf of civil rights."

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters founder and president A. Philip Randolph told the convention the merged AFL-CIO brought 1,500,000 Negroes "within the folds of organized labor." He said separation of workers on a race and color basis "is an abnormal condition, since all workers have the same basic interests, namely, decent wages, improved working conditions and shorter hours of work." He showed that all the South's tactics "used to keep the Negro down are also used against the poor whites" by citing the "states' rights" doctrines as a device "to perpetuate segregation" and to "cripple the organized labor movement." Mr. Randolph is one of two Negro AFL-CIO vice-presidents. The other is Willard S. Townsend, president of United Transport Service, AFL-CIO, a Redcaps union.

NON-VIOLENCE: The U. S. Negro "cannot think in terms of retaliatory violence," and that, said the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., was why "it would be both impractical and immoral" for the 50,000 walkers in the bus protest to resort to violence. Their method, he said, "is simply a refusal, in a non-violent sense, to cooperate with the evil of segregation."

Dr. King said: "Ours is a creative method which might be added to the several methods which we must use to make integration a reality. We must continue the struggle through legislation. We must continue to gain the ballot and urge the executive and legislative branches of our government to follow the example so courageously set by the judicial branch. Also we must depend on the growing group of white liberals, both North and South, who are still willing to take a stand for justice.

"But in the final analysis the problem of obtaining full citizenship is one for which the Negro himself must assume primary responsibility. Integration will not be some lavish dish that the white man will pass out on a silver platter, while the Negro furnishes the appetite. If integration is to become a reality we must be willing to work hard for it, sacrifice for it, and even die for it, if necessary."

THE DEFINITION: He said that if "moderation" means pressing on for justice "with wise restraint and calm reasonableness, then it is a virtue which all must seek to achieve in this tense period of transition." If "moderation" means slowing up in the move toward freedom, then it "is a tragic vice which all men of good will must condemn." Not only does the Negro have his self respect to maintain; "but, even more, we must press on because of love for America and the democratic way of life, [for] if democracy is to live segregation must die."

Special counsel Thurgood Marshall called for a stepped up registration and voting campaign; continued efforts to get voluntary compliance with the high court's anti-jimcrow decrees; study and evaluation of the Montgomery bus protest technique "to determine to what extent it may be used in addition to our other means of protest."

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the SPECTATOR

Report on a reporter

IN THE LAKESIDE bath-house where visitors to Otaniemi submit themselves to the Finnish ordeal by live steam, the body being fricasseed next to mine turned out to be that of Wilfred Burchett. Newspapermen meet few more interesting people than each other, and such encounters of fellow-professionals long mutually familiar by name are the real highlight of international conferences.

Now operating out of Hanoi and at home everywhere, Burchett had already won world eminence as a reporter—mainly with his first eye-witness story from atomized Hiroshima for the London **Express**—before he transferred his talents to the Left press and radio. U. S. progressives know him best as the man who blew the gaff on Washington's attempts to wreck the Panmunjom armistice talks and the nightmare of Koje Island POW camps.

He has supped full with horrors in the dirty wars of our time, and today brings something more than know-how to his work: a conviction that gives it shape and meaning. He puts into it all he has got—which is plenty—but enjoys every aspect of life intensely, so that now not even a pressure of steam sufficient to tenderize a horse can wipe the smile off his friendly face.

OVER BEER and Wiener schnitzel on the train to Moscow I got Burchett to continue the story of his extraordinary life where he had left off in the steam bath. He had told me that he started out as a carpenter and had no thought of writing when, in 1937, he left his Australian out-back home and his father, a Methodist minister.

Beached at Tahiti because he was so seasick the ship's captain wouldn't take him any further, he was almost charmed into settling there as a carpentering lotus-eater. But he reached London with enough French to get a job selling Cook's tours, and attending night school six times a week acquired the rudiments of German, Spanish and Italian.

As we crossed the Finnish-Soviet frontier—a small forest clearing with a low barbed-wire fence, a few searchlights and wooden guard towers—he was describing his adventures in rescuing Jews from Hitler's Germany, when he was working as a Palestine Orient Lloyd agent. He got out just ahead of the Gestapo and, returning to Australia, broke into journalism in the early war years as one of the few experts on Germany. Australian papers sent him to New Caledonia to report on Japanese activities there (the subject of his first book), and then on an Indonesia-Malaya-Burma Road hike to Chungking . . .

AT VIBORG, the first stop across the frontier, there was not a form to fill in and no baggage examination; but the informality stopped short at Burchett's travel document, a bizarre affair issued by the North Vietnam government in lieu of the passport which Australia declines to renew. The passport official told Burchett with a warm but firm smile that he must stay there overnight because his visa wasn't in order. I bade him goodby while our fellow-travelers swarmed along the platform snapping pictures and the station radio filled the air with the roar of a Moscow football crowd. For the rest of the journey I was alone with the trackside flashes of Soviet rural life: women hanging out laundry and tending rows of young lettuce, courting couples strolling the lanes hand in hand, kids kicking a ball around a yard.

Burchett arrived by next day's train and, after telling of all the fascinating folk he met in Viborg (he now gets around adequately in 15 languages including Russian and Chinese), resumed his interrupted narrative. The war with Japan breaking out while he was in Chungking, the London **Express** immediately made him its Far East war correspondent, sending him back to Burma where he went through the campaign and walked out through the jungle into India. In Chungking again to interview Chiang Kai-shek, who gave him one sentence and a brisk goodby, he returned to Burma where a wound hospitalized him for three months.

In 1943 he was assigned to the Pacific war, covering Saipan, Iwo Jima and Okinawa and landing in Japan with the Marines after the surrender. He reached Hiroshima hours ahead of all other reporters by simply taking a train from Yokohama (the others were too credulous of their own propaganda about Japan's total destruction).

HIS DESCRIPTION of the horror of people dying of radiation effects infuriated MacArthur, who wanted this blacked out, into ordering his expulsion, but the Navy backed him up. To the Marines he was a hero because of his exposè in the **Express** and **Christian Science Monitor** of "hell ship" conditions en route.

On the European beat after the war Burchett exposed some of the "free world" fakery in Berlin and in Greece, and finally quit the capitalist press in 1950 after the London **Times** suppressed his stories from Budapest. In Sofia he found a wife, now preoccupied in Hanoi with their Bulgarian-Australian baby. Among other things since 1950 he has participated in a peace congress in Australia, and covered China and the tail end of the Korean shambles for **Ce Soir** and the Vietnam war and Bandung and Geneva conferences for London's **Daily Worker.**

In his spare moments—said Burchett between phone calls to arrange a two-week tour of all the people's democracies—he has written a play and such books of reportage as **China's Feet Unbound, Cold War in Germany, Koje Unscreened** and **North of the 17th Parallel.** These chores are performed on an antique Swiss portable with a broken "a" patched with corn-plaster. Sauntering through Sverdlov Square to a local journalists' party in his honor, he was the picture of a man with nothing to do except enjoy being alive.

Cedric Belfrage